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821 *el a-ē·rnga-*, or *kâ·la-ē·rnga-*, ebb tide.
nô·ro-, neap tide.
tô·ya-,[1] low tide at daybreak.

823 5. The four cardinal points of the compass are distinguished; the names indicating these are not derived from prevalent winds, but, as far as the east and west are concerned, have reference to the sun, the word for the former signifying "the appearing face place" (*elârmū·gu-*), and for the latter "the disappearing face place" (*târ-mū·gu-*); the term for south is the "separate place" (*el-iglā·-*), while the meaning and derivation of that denoting north (*elâr-jan·a-*) is unknown to the present inhabitants.

821 6. For the winds, too, they have distinctive names, viz.:
châl-jō·tama-, north-west wind.
Pū·luga-tâ-, north-east wind (lit., "The Creator His wind").
dē·ria-, south-west wind.
chī·la-tâ-, south-east wind.

Of these the second (*Pū·luga-tâ-*) only, now-a-days, possesses any special significance; it is called "The Creator's (or God's) wind," because it proceeds from that part of heaven where the connecting bridge[2] between this world and the next is supposed to be situated.

7. They identify three forms of clouds, and indicate them thus:
tô·wia-, cumulus.
ara-mū·ga-bar·nga-, stratus.
yūm-li-dī·ya-, nimbus.

8. Of all the stars and constellations Orion's belt alone is found to bear a name (*bē·la-*), but this is not to be wondered at, as they never venture upon any distant voyages, and do not therefore experience any necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets and constellations at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. Their astronomical observations have, however, extended to the discovery of the milky way, which they call *ig-yō·lowa-*[3], and poetically describe as the road used by the angels (*mô·rowin-*).[4]

439 **Trade, Exchangeable Values and Property.**—1. It is evident, from the accounts of various writers, that for many years prior to our present occupation, these islands were visited by trading vessels manned by Malays, Burmese, and Chinese, who were *said* to traffic with the Andamanese for edible birds'-nests and *bêche de*

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 39 (footnote).
[2] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.
[3] The Chippeways call the milky way "the path of the ghosts" (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 9.

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mer;[1] but it seems more than probable that they obtained their supplies without any assistance from the aborigines; their visits, were, moreover, in later years attended with considerable risk, owing to the malpractices of some of the traders in kidnapping such of the race as they could entice on board their vessels, for the purpose of carrying them away into captivity. 439

2. Even at the present day, with the exception of procuring turtles, shells, honey, bows, arrows, and a few other articles which are sold, for their own benefit, by the inmates of the homes in and near the harbour, to visitors and residents at Port Blair, the natives attempt nothing in the way of trade, and this much is only done by dint of constant inducements being offered in the shape of presents of tobacco, files, &c.[2]

3. Of our imports they prize chiefly:—dogs, iron, bottles, tobacco, pipes, and matches, all of which have for many years past been freely distributed among the coast people throughout Great Andaman, by whose means they have, doubtless, either by barter or in the form of presents, reached many of the communities inhabiting the interior.[3]

4. In respect to barter, in their transactions with each other, some weapon, utensil, or other common article, such as *kòi'ob-*, or *tâ'la-ōg-*[4] (used for painting[5] their persons and for general decorative purposes), serves as the medium of exchange. 436

[1] Captain J. H. Miller, in a communication to the Nautical Magazine, 1842, says: "The islands in the west side of the Andamans are frequented during the fine season, from December to April, by a mixed and mongrel race of Malays, Chinese, and Burmese fishermen for *bêche de mer* and edible birds'-nests, who are of very doubtful honesty; and it is necessary to take a few muskets and cutlasses, just to show them that you are prepared for mischief in case of need. These fellows are also 'fishers of men,' and to their evil deeds much of the hostility of the islanders may be attributed; they carry off children, for whom they find a ready market as slaves in the neighbouring countries. I have been told that formerly they were friendly, and assisted these fishermen, until a large party was invited on board a junk or prow (the Chinese got the blame of it), and after being intoxicated, were carried off and sold at Acheen; and the practice is still carried on by these fellows, who land and carry them off whenever they can catch them. The Andamanians have retaliated fearfully whenever any foreigner has fallen into their power, and who can blame them?" (Sailing Directions for the principal ports in the Bay of Bengal, by W. H. Rosser and J. F. Imray).

"Formerly, both Malays and Burmese procured at the Andamans a considerable quantity of these nests: collecting them themselves, or receiving them from the islanders in exchange for their tobacco, &c." ("Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbe).

[2] Spiritous liquors would serve as the most powerful medium in this respect, but, in view of the certain and great mischief which would result from gratifying their innate liking for alcohol, it has been rarely given and then only in small quantities medicinally, or by a few persons who are indifferent or ignorant as to its ill effects.

[3] *Vide* Part I.

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60 and 58.

[5] *Vide ante* "Painting," paragraphs 7, 8, 9, and 10.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men ever since, though it is now to be identified, as will be seen later, with "Mŏngebe, I am (an) Ŏnge," a phrase, which was perhaps pronounced and at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ears as "Minggobie." His informant, in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Ŏnge, or as the Jarawas seem to pronounce the name,—an Inggo. 175 101

Relations with the English.—Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858 an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilise some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilised" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and, except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The existing use of the Home is that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that likes is admitted. He may stay as long as he pleases and go when it suits him. While there he is housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there is a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, are taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desire to friends at a distance and during each of the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials. In return the Andamanese of the Home are employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds'-nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income is derived and expended on them. They have never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves and all their earnings have to be administered for them. It is indeed against local rules to give them money, as it is at once spent in intoxicants. The present policy, in short, is to leave them alone and to do what is possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes are the cessation of the former and much too frequent murder of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways. 175 [439]

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—96, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jarawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them and robbing the gardens started for food supplies. These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

In Appendix B will be found an abstract of the Jarawa raids on the Settlement, which have been continuous since 1872, when they were first differentiated. In the interval they have attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. That is, they have made 32 attacks in 30 years. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 Andamanese have been killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 Andamanese have been wounded. In counter expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jarawas have been killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured 18 have been released in a short time and 2 have died. It will be seen thus that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents has not up to date borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners the Ŏnges.

II. Physical Characteristics.

Portman's and Molesworth's Enquiries.—The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the 141

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
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Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacco, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

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105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

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1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

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1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrito der Andaman (Anthro Anz).